

## KIN GROUPINGS

### MOIETY

616 The Papago are divided into patrilineal moieties, whose totems are Coyote and Buzzard. In consonance with California belief, Coyote is thought to have a white heart, while Buzzard's is red.<sup>1</sup> As subsidiary totems, the two moieties have white and red ants, actually a form of wingless wasp. The bear is sometimes mentioned as having a white heart and befriending the Coyote people, while mountain lion befriends the Buzzards.

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616 But the moieties are actually remote from Papago life and many people do not know to which they belong. No moiety exogamy is now practised and only three informants had heard a tradition of such a thing. Most of them laughed at the idea; "We're all just the same. Those names don't matter." The marriage rule, in fact, is that of a bilateral system, which forbids marrying relatives on either side of the house. The kinship system is in accordance with such a rule since it gives equal weight to the paternal and maternal lines and calls cross and parallel cousins by the same terms. It is a terminology which takes no cognizance of moiety.

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616 Moiety functions only in ceremony.<sup>2</sup> It was with some difficulty that the traces of this were unearthed but, from the impressions of the oldest informants, it would seem that there were many more at one time than now. At the wilkita, the harvest festival held in the northern part of the region every four years, two girls and two boys scattered sacred cornmeal. They impersonated four children originally sacrificed to prevent a flood and there must be a boy and a girl from each moiety as there had been in that legendary case. At the final purification of an Enemy Slayer, old Slayers sang and

<sup>1</sup> The Pima tradition makes the red people the descendants of the former inhabitants of the land (Russell, 179), while Papago narrators say that these inhabitants were driven south.

<sup>2</sup> Herzog, G, AA vol. 23, no. 2, pt. 1, p. 520, reports Pima moieties as once taking sides in games. With the Papago, the game unit is now the village or the group of related villages, all of whom descend, theoretically, from the same patrilineal ancestor. If we conclude that women were married into these related villages, which thus came to be thought of as groups of cross cousins, we should have to disregard the Papago rule which forbids all marriage between relatives. With the Papago, the village has long been the functioning unit and even the selection of kin which constitutes it is coming to have less and less importance.

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## KINSHIP TERMS

Prefaced in address by the possessive pronoun *nyi*, my.

b brother, o cousin, ch child, d daughter, f father, gp. grandparent,  
 m mother, mn man, o older, p parent, s son, sb sibling, si sister, wm woman,  
 y younger, sp speaking.

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| Term                  |   | Parent Class |    |
|-----------------------|---|--------------|----|
|                       |   | Reciprocal   |    |
| sib term (in address) | f | árita'k      | ch |
| o.k (descriptively)   | f |              |    |
| to'ti                 | m | mat          | ch |

| Term          |        | Grandparent Class |            |
|---------------|--------|-------------------|------------|
|               |        |                   |            |
| wo.s'k        | ff     | wó.somat          | mn s ch    |
| wo.s'k ki.ri  | ffb    | wó.somat          | mn b s ch  |
| wo.s'k o'ks   | ffsi   | wó.somat          | wim b s ch |
| kaak          | fm     | ká'amat           | wm s ch    |
| kaak ki.ri    | fm b   | ká'amat           | mn si s ch |
| kaak o'ks     | fmsi   | ká'amat           | wm si s ch |
| paap          | mf     | pá'amat           | mn d ch    |
| paap ki.ri    | mfb    | pá'amat           | mn b d ch  |
| paap o'ks     | mfsi   | pá'amat           | wm b d ch  |
| huhuri        | mm     | móos              | wm d ch    |
| huri ki.ri    | mm b   | móos              | mn si d ch |
| huri o'ks     | mm si  | móos              | wm si d ch |
| wi'kori       | ggp    | wicat             | ggch       |
| wi'kori ki.ri | ggp    | wicat             | ggch       |
| wi'kori o'ks  | ggpai  | wicat             | ggch       |
| cipi'te       | gggp   | siis              | gggch      |
| cipi'te ki.ri | gggp b |                   | gggch      |
| cipi'te o'ks  | gggpai |                   | gggch      |

| Term    |                                                   | Sibling and Cousin Class |                                             |
|---------|---------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
|         |                                                   | Reciprocal               |                                             |
| siis    | o sb, cousin <sup>1</sup> of senior descent       | cipi'te                  | y sb, cousin <sup>1</sup> of junior descent |
| wi.na'k | sb (descriptive)                                  |                          |                                             |
| u.wika  | mn si or female cousin <sup>1</sup> (descriptive) |                          |                                             |

<sup>1</sup> Herzog, G. AA vol. 38, no. 3, pt. 1, p. 529, quotes a Pima term for cross cousin. This is the word used by the Papago in describing moiety totems and, by them, translated *partner*. It is applied also to related villages whose members are assumed to be, not cross cousins, but men of the same patrilineal stock. Cross cousins are called siblings like parallel cousins.

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|                  |            | Uncle Class |            |           |       |
|------------------|------------|-------------|------------|-----------|-------|
|                  |            | f o b       | tcutuht    | mn y b ch |       |
| father term      |            |             |            |           |       |
| ather term plus  |            |             |            |           |       |
| kiri, (old man)  |            |             |            |           |       |
| father term plus |            |             |            |           |       |
| oks (old woman)  | f o si     | tcutuht     | y b ch     | wm        | sp    |
| to'ls            | m o b      | mat         | y si ch    | mn        | sp    |
| ta'a't oks       | m o si     | mat         | y si ch    | wm        | sp    |
| haki't           | f y b f or |             |            |           |       |
|                  | step f     | hakimat     | o b ch or  | step ch m | sp    |
| wowoi't          | f y si     | hakimat     | o b ch     | wm        | sp    |
| tahtari          | m y b      | ma'i        | o si ch    | mn        | sp    |
| teiiak           | m y si m   |             |            |           |       |
|                  | or step m  | ma'i        | o si ch or | step ch   | wm sp |

## Affinal Relatives

|     |         |         |      |
|-----|---------|---------|------|
| kun | husband | honyi'k | wife |
|-----|---------|---------|------|

A co-wife was addressed by the kin term. If not related, the first wife still called the second younger sibling, while the second reciprocated with senior sibling, as though married under the junior sororate. In joke, wives alluded to one another as *nyi hi'ihk*; one with whom I have a relation of jealousy. The same term was applied by either spouse to an illicit lover of the other.

Affinal relatives are considered kin only as they are in the direct lineage of a child who is also in the speaker's lineage. Thus, father-in-law and son-in-law would address one another as "Father of my daughter's child" and "Maternal grandfather of my child." Until a child is born they allude to each other as "that old man", "that young man" and, in address, say "friend." Other relatives, in choosing the child through whom they will count relationship, select one in the father's line if possible, even though the connection is more distant than that of one in the mother's line.

There are a few cases in which a term seems to be "frozen" as in the word for father-in-law, which is identical with that for son-in-law and actually means: father of my grandchild through a daughter, man speaking.<sup>1</sup> Otherwise there is only one independent affinal term *kihl*, brother-in-law, which is said by some Papago to be an adaptation from the Mexican *cognato*.

<sup>1</sup> Parsons (1929, p. 449) quotes a set of affinal terms for the Pima but these exceptions, show the tekonymy cited above though with a number of frozen terms. Since the orthography used here is different from that of Dr. Parsons, I quote both.

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## Step Relation Class

Step relationship might occur either with the marriage of several women to one man or with the remarriage of a spouse after the death of a former one. In either case, the terms used were the same. Step parents and children and step siblings might already have been related and, in that case, they called each other by the old terms. If they had not been related, terms were established as though the new spouse had been married in accordance with junior sororate and levirate, i. e.

| Term   |                         | Reciprocal |                                                       |
|--------|-------------------------|------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| hakit  | step f                  | hakimat    | step ch mn sp (or, colloquially, wokca, arrow quiver) |
| tciaik | step m                  | ma'i       | step ch wm sp                                         |
| siis   | step sb, senior descent | cipite     | step sb junior descent                                |

These three terms make no provision for other procedure than the junior levirate, the step parent being called by the term for younger brother or sister of the dead parent, step siblings by the term for real sibling. The colloquial term which has come to be used for step child means "arrow quiver".

Other step relations are called by the term of previous kinship.

## Extensions

The use of extensions should theoretically go to the fifth remove in both directions, for the Papago statement is: "The great great grandparent is the last relative. After that, we are no kin." As a result, any descendant of the great great grandparent should be given his proper place among the extensions while the more distant connections would be called not "my relative" but "relative of my father, my grandfather" or some one within the required five generations.

| Pima term    |                                    | Papago term     |                              |
|--------------|------------------------------------|-----------------|------------------------------|
| vosamajik    | d-in-law, mn sp<br>f-in-law, wn sp | wo.somat tel'i  | m of goh through d, wm sp    |
| kaamejik     | d-in-law, wn sp<br>m-in-law, wn sp | ka'amat tel'i   | m of goh through son, wm sp  |
| nyipahamatak | s-in-law mn sp<br>f-in-law, mn sp  | nyi pa'amat o.k | my f of goh through d, mn sp |
| moi ak       | s-in-law, wn sp                    | mo-s o.k        | f of goh through d, wm sp    |
| chuchumi     | m-in-law, mn sp                    |                 | unexplained                  |

- 601 In practice, however, the Papago is not very assiduous in reckoning relationship. Those kin who live in the same village will be kept track of and called by the proper term but the distant ones seem to be lost to sight after the third remove, often the second. Marriage is forbidden between relatives, supposedly those within the five removes but when I inquired for examples of projected marriages stopped because of kinship, I found that the offenders were second [582] cousins or uncle and niece. Inquiring about more distant kin, I was told: "No, we could not marry them. *If we knew we were related.*"

But at least as far as the speaker's second cousin and sometimes his third, the relationship was kept track of. These cousins were called siblings, younger or older according to their descent but, when necessary, they could be further distinguished. For a blood sibling, the term was prefaced by *ai* (very much) for a first cousin, by *miah* (near) and for second or third cousin by *mihk* (far). The same qualifiers could be used for all the other terms, or the relationship could be otherwise defined as "my sibling, the son of my very own uncle" etc.

This terminology is entirely lacking in such emphasis as would reflect clan and moiety. There are the same number of terms for relatives on each side of the house and they have the same general significance. All cousins, cross and parallel, are known as siblings. The fact that the affinals have no status until the birth of a child is further evidence to this effect. There can be no classing of certain kin as possible spouses, since no kin are possible spouses. Therefore neither line is weighted with an unusual number of terms, as may happen in unilateral systems.

The other points emphasized appear in some generations and are lost sight of in others. For the great great grandparents and the great grandparents we have only an undifferentiated term. With the grandparents, there is noted the sex of the relative and the difference between the father's and mother's line. With the uncle class, these two distinctions are still present and, in addition, the factor of seniority, not of the relative himself but of his ancestor in the direct line. With Ego's class, all distinctions disappear but seniority and cousins, male, female, cross and parallel are siblings, either junior or senior. In the nephew class, seniority remains and there is added the distinction between father's and mother's line but the sex of the relative is still absent. The grandchild terms are reciprocals of the grandparent terms, which mark the difference between father's and mother's lines and the sex of the grandparent but not of the grandchild. The great grandchild and the great great grandchild terms, again, are single and undifferentiated. Affinals

play a small part in the system, though a logical one. They are not related at all until they have children to connect them with the blood kin and then each is known as parent of a certain child. 601 ●

We have, then, an emphasis on seniority, not of the individual but of his line. We have a distinction between the father's and mother's line and the sex of the relative, all appearing in some generations and disappearing in others. It seems a disjointed view of relationships and the seniority is particularly hard to explain since, in Papago life, there is no inheritance either of office or of goods through primogeniture.

But from one viewpoint, the terms are logical. Let us consider seniority emphasis as reflecting the junior levirate and sororate and let us look at the generations from that of Ego, an immature child. We must begin with the three generations with which Ego is most concerned, his own and those immediately above and below it. It is in these that marriages are occurring during Ego's lifetime, while the remoter generations being more static do not call for terms having to do with marriage.

Ego has a word for father<sup>1</sup> and a word for mother and they have reciprocals for him which naturally express their sex and not his.

In the uncle and aunt class, Ego needs to differentiate younger brother of my father, who may become my stepfather and is called by the same term and similarly younger sister of my mother who may be a stepmother. Seniority, line and sex of the relative are all needed in view of the levirate and sororate. But in an efflorescence of terms Ego goes to the logical conclusion and makes these distinctions for all the uncles and aunts.

In Ego's own class, none of the relatives can be his spouse, so they are all called siblings. If Ego were an adult, he would make sex distinctions, since either younger sisters or younger brothers might some day be entering his own household as step parent, while the opposite sex would not. But it is not Ego's own relation to the marriage rules which is considered but that of his uncles and aunts. Ego calls his siblings simply older or younger without regard to their future marriages and he thinks of his cousins as descendants from the uncle class and calls them younger or older according to the age of their parents, the main figures in his scheme.

Toward the nephew class, Ego's point of view must necessarily be that of an adult and not a child and here, for the first time, his own marriage is considered. He calls his nephews child of my senior and child of my junior but he also distinguishes the sex of the

<sup>1</sup> The father term carries a sib connotation which has been considered elsewhere and which is inoperative in Papago daily life.

601 sibling as he did not do in his own generation. He says child of my junior sister or junior brother, senior sister or senior brother, as do those who consider the effect of levirate and sororate on their own households. There is a reflection, here, of the same efflorescence we found in the uncle class for actually, a man would need to distinguish the ages only of his brothers and a woman of her sisters and other systems have this practice. But the logical completeness found in the uncles class is here also.

These three generations, then, have terms which might very logically be used by a society which made junior levirate and sororate its main consideration in the ranking of kin and which considered relationships as far as possible from the point of view of the child, not the adult.

In the remoter terms, all reference to seniority is absent. If the ranking of Ego's cousins according to seniority of descent really had reference to primogeniture, it would be worth while to know whether his grandfather were an oldest son and therefore the chief of the line, but the terms have no reference to it. Ego differentiates his four grandparents as to sex and as to relationship with father or mother. The distinction can be explained on a household basis since his grandparents are his mentors and nurses in childhood, with decidedly different sex functions. One couple, however, will live in the same camp with Ego and one in a distant camp, according to residence is matrilineal or patrilineal and therefore the distinction of line is necessary. The grandchild terms are reciprocals of the grandparent terms, expressing therefore the sex of the grandparent and not of the grandchild. Two terms have been added in this generation which have no reciprocals. The grandchild sometimes distinguishes his grandparents' siblings from the ancestor himself by adding to the grandparent terms the words old man or old woman, but these great aunts and uncles reply merely with the term grandchild. This differentiation does not occur in all groups using the terminology and is a convenience for keeping the main line separate from the collaterals.

The great grandparents and the great great grandparents are probably not alive in Ego's generation and their figures are too dim to require more than a single inclusive term. After the last there are no further kin terms and the relatives themselves are called siblings "as if they began a new line backward." The whole ancestral line thus seems to be viewed in segments of nine generations with the great great grandparents as the connecting link. This terminology shows the Papago as making use of a kinship system apparently worked out by a group with bilateral descent and strong

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emphasis on the levirate and sororate. It is the system used, in one form or another, throughout the desert area, the Basin and Plateau, and it would be strange if the Papago had departed from it. There was nothing in their customs to force them to do so since their family was bilateral and the levirate and sororate were practised though not emphasized. 601 ●

But the Papago were not given to hard and fast rules. It may have been their frugal and difficult existence which forced them always to consider economic convenience first, but certainly the sororate, was practised only if the husband was a good provider and relatives were intimate or not according as they were of economic use to one another. In fact, given the above kinship system as a starting point, the different relationships took on validity for economic and geographic reasons rather than from set ceremonial usage. Consequently the points most important in behavior are not reflected in the terms.

In order to study actual kin behavior, before the days of White influence, a census was made of the families living in eight different settlements between the years 1850 and 1900. This list, contained in Appendix I, notes the constitution of each family group and their economic arrangements for cooperative living, land sharing and gift exchange. Sib was not noted, since it was so rarely known. From this data, we may attempt a picture of actual kin behavior. 124

## THE PAPAGO FAMILY

chapter iii, most families who own cattle do little slaughtering for themselves and thus do not eat the organ meats and blood which were an important part of Papago diet in the old days. School lunches are helping to supply some of these dietary deficiencies, but experimentation and education will be necessary before home diets are improved. 146 262.

## THE PAPAGO HOUSEHOLD

The family is the most important unit in the Papago social structure, whether home is a tiny structure of wattle-and-daub or a five-room house with a shingle roof, wooden floor, refrigerator, washing machine, and radio. Family solidarity is strong. Most often, and ideally, a household consists of the old parents, unmarried sons and daughters, and married sons with their wives and children—three generations in all. But, since relatives may always be depended on for hospitality, the constitution of the household shifts as convenience and necessity require. Any relative is given a temporary or permanent place in the domicile as long as he is willing to assume his share of responsibility for the family livelihood and to fit quietly into the family structure. It is a rare household that does not include a widowed daughter, a distant cousin, a child whose parents have died or remarried; or an "illegitimate" child. Brothers or sisters of the old parents (also regarded as grandparents by their siblings' grandchildren)<sup>1</sup> may also be part of the family. Many and varied are the combinations of relatives who may live together. 592

Thus a Papago child is usually born into a family that includes not merely his father and mother and brothers and sisters but several other relatives. The precise combination does not signify. Whether his grandparents are maternal or paternal, whether the other adults are his aunts and uncles or more distant relatives, a child's family relationships are such that the absence of one particular relative is no deprivation, if there is another who can take his place. Both the child and his relatives are prepared to accept substitutes even in the essential roles. 593

Every relative, however, has his proper designation. Some kinship terms differentiate persons who would, in English, have a common appellation. Thus there is a different term in Papago for an uncle who is the mother's younger brother from one who is the father's older brother. On the other hand, the same terms are used for persons who are differentiated in English. Brothers and sisters and all degrees of cousins are called by one of two terms; these terms do not distinguish sex but rather the comparative ages of the speaker and 601 ●

1. Siblings are children of the same parents.

## THE DESERT PEOPLE

593 the one addressed.<sup>4</sup> The old Papago terms are still in everyday use, but a few  
 601 English terms such as "mamma" and "daddy" are coming into vogue among the more acculturated families, and personal names are more frequently used in addressing relatives near one's own age, when formerly the kinship term would have been used.

601 The Papago kinship terms are not merely convenient designations, for they indicate patterns of behavior among relatives. The cousin who is addressed by the same term as a brother is treated much as a brother. The emphasis on age in the kin terms is directly linked with the Papago principle that the older is always in a position of authority over the younger (which is discussed in Part II of this study).

551 In addition to the kinship terms by which he is addressed and referred to by his relatives, a Papago has at least two personal names. According to an old Papago custom, still followed by some families today, a medicine man gives the child a name, usually one which had come to him in a dream.<sup>5</sup> This name is believed to have magic power and is seldom used in reference or address. A few old people are still known by these names.

In more general use, particularly among the men, are nicknames bestowed because of some personal eccentricity or experience. These names, frequently given to the men by women, may have sexual connotations. Women liked "Women Hobbled Him" and tried to keep him near them; the bride of "No Blanket" left him because he had no blanket; "Spinach" went courting on a green horse. Women also may have nicknames: "School Bus" had her dates near the bus; "Red Shoes" liked bright footwear. "Heron Legs" and "Shiny

4. The kinship terminology is of the "Yuman" type. Its characteristics are these: (1) emphasis on distinction of sex and relative age, the treatment different according to generation; (2) a differentiation of parents from their siblings and of siblings from one another. In the two ascending generations maternal and paternal lines are distinguished as well as sex; sexes are undifferentiated in one's own and the two descending generations. In the first ascending generation, the sex of the person addressed, his age order in relation to the speaker's parent, and the relationship to which parent are all indicated. In ego's generation all siblings are either older or younger than ego. Cousins are addressed as elder and younger siblings, the term depending on the relative age of the parents. In the first and second descending generations there are no distinctions in relative age nor in the sex of the person addressed; the only difference between male and female speaking is that the father and mother call their children by different terms, that used by the father signifying "little one" and that used by the mother, "born from my womb." In the grandparent class all are "grandfather" or "grandmother." Thus, in the parent, and aunt and uncle class, the relationship to one's parents can be determined; in ego's generations the relationship to one's self, but in the descending generations only the sex of the parent speaking. The kinship terminology is a reflection of the authority system in terms of relative age and of patrilocal residence. Underhill also regards it as reflecting the sororate and levirate which no longer exist (Ruth Underhill, *Social Organization of the Papago Indians*, p. 39).

5. *Ibid.*, p. 137.